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the gods of the upper world and the exorcism of the forces of the nether world. This correlation is sometimes given expression by providing the mountain temple, where the worship of the upper-worldly gods takes place, a counterpart in a sea temple, where the nether-worldly forces are served. Elsewhere, as is the case of the four Tabanan state sanctuaries, the temple complex itself has an upper-worldly and a nether-worldly section. The complex of Bĕsakih, which in its several dozen sanctuaries gives expression to the religious unity of all Bali, is a striking example: the complex is divided into two separate groups of temples, each with its own officiants in charge of the veneration of the upper world or the nether world.

After this brief digression on state temples in general, let us return to the two Mĕngwi state mountain sanctuaries, restricting ourselves primarily to the sanctuary at Tiingan.

In popular parlance Pura Puchak Tiingan has a number of other names as well. The term *pura puchak* derives from the fact that the temple stands at the foot of Tiingan Hill. This hill may at the same time be considered as the top of Mount Pĕngelengan, the mountain peak which dominates the uplands of Badung. That fact can be associated with the thought that the mountain, as a cosmic symbol, is a royal attribute, and for this reason the place to be chosen for the founding of a state sanctuary. To give expression to the central significance of the temple for the whole region, the *pura puchak* is also called *pĕngastulan jagat*, that is to say 'the place of worship for the whole realm', while another name, *pĕnataran agung*, refers to the circumstance that the temple was a sanctuary of the ruler. Finally there is the designation *pura pĕmaksan*, a term referring to the worship group in the strict sense, the *pĕmaksan*, consisting of the core villagers of the four *pĕrbĕkĕlans*.

As of November, 1949, the senior temple officiant and superintendent is the *pĕmangku* Jĕro Wayan Rawi, who also belongs to the board of village elders in the *desa* of Tiingan itself as *kĕbayan*. His status as superintendent of the *pura puchak* is recognized by the regional authorities of Badung, as represented by the district head of Abiansĕmal, the district containing the *desa* of Tiingan and

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Chapter Four

Administrative, Judicial, and Legislative Matters

I

Administrative Affairs

621 623 Every inhabitant of Tĕnganan who is not excluded from membership becomes a member of the *desa*, a *kĕrama desa* or *wong desa*, on marrying a girl or a young man of the *desa*. It is compulsory to inform the *desa* of the marriage. A man who [587] marries a widow from the *desa* or a woman from another *desa*, whether or not the latter has been married before, does not become a *desa* member. A new member becomes one of the *pĕngluduhans*, the *desa* members without a rank. Both husband and wife become members as a result of their marriage, and each has his own task to fulfil, though the only *desa* meeting in which the women participate is the one at which plans are discussed for the major *usaba* or purification ceremony in Kalima. At that meeting they sit on the left (west) side of the *bale*. It goes without saying that the women members of the *desa*, like the men, may not be physically deformed.

623 624 *Desa* membership is always terminated for husband and wife at the same time. Reasons for the termination may be the marriage of one of the couple's children, a second marriage on the part of the husband, the death of one of the couple, or a transgression of the *desa adat* by either the husband or the wife. If, for instance, a woman who is a *desa* member takes to carrying on trade or enters the *bale agung* while she is with child, or if a man fails to appear at the *desa* meeting in appropriate meeting dress (though a *pĕngluduhan* may fail to comply with the regulation twice), goes outside his *banjar* without being clad in *adat* dress and wearing his creese, passes the night outside the *desa* territory without permission from

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the *desa* council, or performs the *pĕkĕmit bĕngongan*, both the husband and the wife cease to be *desa* members. 623 626

When a *desa* member of whatever rank is deprived of membership, the others retain their old places for the time being, moving up to their new places only in Katiga, Kaněm, and Kasanga, the third, sixth, and ninth month. In certain cases a person who has [587] lost his *desa* membership can regain it. For instance, a widower who marries a girl of the *desa* becomes a member once more, and the village constitution makes it possible for the *desa* meeting to decide whether a person whose membership has been revoked for another reason should be readmitted. He then regains the same seniority he had earlier enjoyed, even though that may mean that his position has moved towards the upper end of the *bale agung* in the meantime. In view of this possibility of regaining membership, a register of persons who have lost theirs, listed chronologically and according to rank, is kept among the village records.

Since the commencement, termination, and regaining of membership depends on a variety of causes, the number of members of the *desa* is variable. In 1926 there were twenty *pĕngluduhans*. 623 565 162 This variability in the number of members has come about as a result of the decrease in population in the village. In earlier times the number of members corresponded to the number of *desa* compounds, with only those married couples having a compound becoming core villagers. Now, however, the population has declined to the extent that there are unoccupied compounds and everyone who marries can immediately obtain one.

During the *desa* meetings the *pĕngluduhans* sit nearest of all the core villagers to the lower end of the *bale agung*.[1] It is a general rule that the persons who have a lower seat (*dibĕten*) address those who sit higher up (*diulu*) in the official language, as *dapa* (the feminine form is *dabi*); the higher-ranking persons address the lower ones as *kita*. The newest pair of *pĕngluduhans* is granted a year in which to learn to behave according to the regulations, and in this period transgressions cannot lead to loss of membership. 623 571

Above the *pĕngluduhans* sit the twelve *tambĕlapus*, the two oldest of whom are called *klihans tambĕlapu*. The two *klihans* and the 623 624

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623 four following *tambĕlapus* have an important right of say as regards
624 the purification ceremonies. In that connection everyone in the *desa*, high and low alike, must obey their orders: a person who refuses to obey immediately loses his *desa* membership, no matter what rank he may have.

Above the *tambĕlapus* sit the twelve *bahans*. The junior six of this rank are called *dapas bahan bătenan;* the senior six are referred to as *klihans bahan* or *dapas bahan duluan*, while as the council handling the day-to-day affairs of the *desa* they are called *klihans desa*. This council meets every evening from eight to twelve o'clock in the *bale agung* with four *sayas* (criers) and six *kĕmits* (watchmen).

In a one-month rotation scheme, the *bahans* serve by turns as the *pĕnyarikan desa*, who has the task of striking the signal block. As long as the *pĕnyarikan* has not sounded the signal block in the morning, the new day has not begun. He must also be present in the *bale agung* every evening, and is in charge of the *kĕropak desa*, where the village records are stored, and of the *desa* seal, which must be affixed to all *desa* documents.

The *sayas desa* also hold their post in one-month rotation, in groups of four. Serving as such are the *desa* members below the rank of *bahan*, in the order in which they appear on the list of seniority. They look after the *pĕsayan* – the meeting requisites: betel, yellow rice, and flowers – at both the *desa* meetings and the meetings of the council. At the beginning of the meeting they perform the ritual of *dĕdauhan base*, presenting the betel and the yellow rice, a few grains of which are pasted to the foreheads of those present.

The *sayas* also serve as village criers. Each evening towards midnight, after the council meeting has come to an end and the *klihans desa* have gone home, leaving the *bale agung* under the protection of the six *kĕmits*, the *sayas* go *angatag saya*. Singing with clear voices, they walk through the village, stopping before the closed door of each person who is to receive an order from the *desa* council. Then they call out more loudly. As soon as they receive an answer, they shout to the inhabitant of the compound what the order is, for he does not open the door.

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If the *sayas* have an order to announce to the whole *desa*, however, they go to the houses of the *klihans luanan* or *kĕbayans desa*. There should be six members of this group, which sits above the *bahans*, but as long as the office of *de ngijĕng* is not filled there are only five. Their task is to make the orders of the council known to the core villagers and other inhabitants of the *desa* liable to service. They are not allowed to close their compound doors before the *sayas* have announced the council orders, since they may not be called to from outside. The *sayas* enter the compounds of the *klihans luanan* with great deference, for in this situation the *luanan* is also the *saya*'s *nabe*. Before saying anything, the *saya* takes hold of the edge of the *luanan*'s offering table, then he announces his commission in deferential language. If his manners fall short he is discharged from his duties.

A word more is in order regarding the *de mangku* and the *de ngijĕng*, who in earlier times were looked upon as the ruler and his *patih*, while the territory within the *desa* gates was called the *kraton*. As soon as a member of the right flank of the *sangyang* class has reached the rank of *luanan* he is elevated to the position of *de mangku*. He then occupies the highest seat in the *bale agung*, and is addressed as *kaki mangku*, while his wife is spoken to as *nini mangku*. After he has ceased to be a member of the *desa* the former *de mangku* is referred to as *de mantĕn*. The left flank of the *sangyang* class provides the *de ngijĕng*, who, however, cannot hold office unless there is a *de mangku*. Once a member of the left flank has reached the rank of *pĕnyarikan*, he automatically becomes the senior *luanan* (unless there is no *de mangku*). The *de ngijĕng*, who is also called *subak desa*, is addressed as *kaki*, or *kaki ngijĕng*, his wife as *nini*, or *nini ngijĕng*. His task is primarily a religious one, though he is also entrusted with the *desa* treasury, and must be informed whenever a marriage is concluded. At religious festivities, for instance at the *usaba* ceremony in Kalima, a place is reserved for him, and a portion of food set apart. For the *de mangku* seven portions of food are provided, in keeping with the number of compounds to which he has a right. If the *de ngijĕng* ceases to be a member of the *desa*, for example because one of his children

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623 marries, he is given the function of *de mĕsalah* (as which he is
624 addressed as *kaki salah*, and his wife as *nini salah*) and serves as
565 head of the *klihans gumi*. He remains *de mĕsalah* only as long as his wife is alive. The *de mĕsalah* supervises the offerings at the purification ceremonies in Kasa, Kalima, and Kadasa, the first, fifth, and tenth months.

From the above it is clear that the various ranks in the *desa* are attained on the basis of length of *desa* membership: the longer one is a core villager, the closer to the deity one is seated, and the more hallowed one becomes. Only the *sangyangs* are so hallowed by birth that, once they have reached a certain rank, they are able to skip over the remaining ranks and occupy the two supreme posts of *de mangku* and *de ngijĕng*, which are reserved for their class.

The *klihans gumi* constitute the *desa*'s unprejudiced reservoir of wisdom and experience. They are the supervisors of the widowers, the misformed, and all the other men who for one reason or another are not, or are no longer, *desa* members. Since the *klihans gumi* have ceased to be members of the *desa* and hence do not enjoy the fruits of a share in the *desa* grounds, they no longer perform any services in connection with the purification ceremonies. Nor do they participate in the monthly *desa* meetings, unless they are invited to aid in settling controversies. (As will be seen below, they play an important rôle in the judicial affairs of the *desa*.) However, they do attend the meetings at which plans are made for the purification cremonies in Kasa, Kalima, Kadasa, and Desta, though without their wives. Only at the Kalima purification ceremony do they receive a share of the offering foods. Their title of address is *dapa klihan gumi*.

623 Aside from the officials discussed above, the *desa* has a number of
624 other functionaries who, surprisingly enough, are required to be of different religious views from those of the *desa* members. The chief of these functionaries is the *pasĕk*, who comes from Ngis. He takes part in the *desa* meetings only on invitation, but is always present at the meetings where the purification ceremonies in the months of Kasa, Kalima, and Kaulu are planned. He also has the right to participate in all meetings of the boys' associations to

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which he is invited. At the meetings of both the *desa* and the boys' associations he sits at the head of the meeting *bale*. He is the only person in the village allowed to keep boars, and is in charge of arranging all offerings. He and the heads of the fourteen *kĕbayan tahak* families form together the corps of *langlang desa*, or village watchmen, in which function they are assisted by the *yayas*, the village cleaners.

Among other such functionaries is the *dukuh*, the guardian of the Majapahit temple, who is not a core villager and does not participate in the *desa* meetings, but like the *pasĕk* enjoys the yield from a *bukti*, a plot of village land. The *pande* is the guardian of the *pura bagus pande;* there are also several other temple guardians, the *pĕmangku* of the *pura dalĕm* being the most important of them. All these temple guardians have the usufruct of a *bukti*.

The functions of *pasĕk*, *yaya*, *dukuh*, *pande*, and *pĕmangku* are hereditary. In case the *mangku* of a *paibon* must be replaced, however, the medium at Pasĕdahan is requested to make a choice.

Some years ago the *controleur* of Karangasĕm 'discovered' that the administrative institutions of Tĕnganan were growing corrupt: the six *klihans desa* had begun to exercise a reign of terror, punishing insignificant *adat* violations with exorbitant sentences, even banishment and confiscation of all property, and such sentences were not pronounced in all disinterestedness, for the property then fell to the *desa*, and from its property the *klihans* in turn derived their incomes.

In order to be able to judge whether this complaint was well-founded, it is necessary to consider the administrative machinery in operation, the levies and services required, and the incomes of the officials.

As was seen above, the council handling the day-to-day affairs of the *desa* convenes every evening. On the first day of each month, *pati pantĕn*, the members of the *desa* meet together in the *bale agung*. All members of the *desa* are required to attend the meeting in person; if a member is ill his place is left open, and he must remain indoors for at least three days. A new member

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attends the meeting for the first time on the *pati pantĕn* following his *mĕbea nganten*.[1] (If a new member presents himself to be inscribed in the *desa* register and has not yet chosen a new name, he is named by the *klihans desa* in consultation with the twelve *tambĕlapus*.)

The *desa* meeting has a ceremonial character, and is conducted under the auspices of the deity to whom each member makes a *sĕmbah* before taking his place. Every member is clad in the prescribed dress: his girdle over his outer garment, his *sabuk tubuhan*[3] clearly visible, and his finely ornamented creese placed in his sash at the back. A *pĕngluduhan* who violates this or other regulations three times is fined two thousand doits, to be paid within three days, and on failure to pay he loses his membership. A person of the rank of *bahan* or higher who commits such a transgression is immediately removed from the list of *desa* members. As has been mentioned, however, there is a fairly recent stipulation added to the *desa* constitution, that the *desa* can readmit him. The fact that persons lose their membership for the sake of such a trifling thing as failing to appear in proper meeting dress is one of the grounds for the charge of a reign of terror brought against the *desa* officials. The fact of the matter is, however, that the *desa* considers such a violation as a serious thing, for it is a transgression of the ancestral *adat*.

At the *desa* meeting the council renders an account of its administration, and the month's duties for the villagers eligible for service are discussed. It has already been pointed out that such persons are called *gumis pulangan*, and that there must be one *gumi pulangan* for each compound. If one of the persons living in the compound is a member of the *desa*, no other able-bodied man from the compound is required; however, if a core villager dies before his son has married, so that there is no core villager in the compound, the eldest able-bodied son becomes the *gumi pulangan* for the compound.

The *desa* members together with the other *gumis pulangan* constitute the *tambunan gumi*. The *desa* members in the *tambunan* are divided into six equal groups, and each sixth part of the *tambunan*

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is called a *pulangan*. Each *pulangan* has a *klihan desa* at its head, who in that function is called *klihan pulangan;* in each *pulangan* there are also a *klihan luanan*, functioning as *subak*, and two *tambĕlapus*, with the office of *saya*. Despite the fact that there is no *de ngijĕng* at present, one of the groups, now eighteen men strong, is called the *pulangan ijĕng*.

The other five *pulangans* meet at the compound of their *subak*, but the *pulangan ijĕng* convenes in the *bale agung*, where the now-invisible *ijĕng* is considered to be seated beside the deity, and a *sĕmbah* is made to him before the meeting begins. Each of the *pulangans* has its own meeting day. A substitute can be sent to the meeting, provided the substitute is a *desa* member. At the meetings it is discussed how best to perform the duties charged upon the *pulangan* by the *desa* meeting or council. The *pulangans* are responsible for maintaining the *desa* buildings, in particular the *bale agung;* among the tasks involved are those of re-roofing the smaller buildings and of keeping the *bale agung* and the *pura kubu langlang* clean. If an important decision is to be taken in the *desa*, all six of the *pulangans* are assembled together.

Anyone who gives careful consideration to this whole administrative complex will have to admit that mutual consultation would seem to have been given a larger rôle in Tĕnganan than perhaps anywhere else in the world, and that there is not the least reason to fear a reign of terror on the part of the *desa* council. This becomes all the more evident when it is recalled that the *desa* administration is in turn closely interconnected with those of the young people's associations and the *banjars*, and that the administration of justice in the *desa* is surrounded by an ample number of guarantees.

The *desa* of Tĕnganan Pĕgĕringsingan has a large source of income at its disposal. It is a principle that all property, movable and immovable alike, is held under the terms of the *druwe desa*, the Tĕngananese right of disposal. If the *desa* is in need of something it has only to take it. If a guest of the *desa* must be presented a meal, there is always a sufficient store of rice in the *desa* granary,

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692 to express his opinion. The case was then decided by a majority
694 vote, and could not be appealed.

Since the Court of Kĕrta at Karangasĕm has begun to concern itself with Tĕngananese affairs, much of this judicial system has disappeared. In the first place the Council has failed utterly to comprehend the division of the *klihans bahan* in three pairs, as is clear from a case in which one of the *klihans bahan*, asked for his opinion on a verdict, answered that he would have preferred a different decision, but it was not his responsibility, since a younger pair of *klihans* had settled the case.

623 Having noted that the higher authorities constantly request the
624 opinion of the whole village population, the *desa* officials have in
693 recent years taken to settling cases at meetings of all the core villagers, and have ordered records of the verdicts to be kept. As a result the lower stages in the judicial system have disappeared.

This seems to me regrettable, for the whole system of judicature by successive groups had a valuable significance for the development of Tĕngananese *adat* law. The junior pair of *klihans bahan*, the judges who were closest to the younger generation of *desa* members, pronounced the decision in the first instance, and the older *klihans* had to accept it with good grace, whether they agreed with it or not. That was the chance of the younger group. But if there was uncertainty as a result of the fact that the junior pair did not concur, the case moved on to an older pair, riper in experience and more thoroughly acquainted with the *adat*. And in this way with each step on the judicial ladder older and older persons, more and more mature in their judgement, but also more and more tenacious in their adherence to the traditional *adat*, were involved. Until finally the case came to the village elders, the *klihans gumi*, who, if they were to have sole power of adjudication, would decide the case according to the *adat* concepts of their youth. Instead, however, they had to present their opinions to the *desa* as a whole, leaving the final judgement to the *tambunan gumi*.

683 The *desa* has meanwhile found a workable solution to the question
685 of which affairs lie within its competence and which within that

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lately, in places frequented by tourists, people are beginning to ask for money as a return for a service. Ordinarily even a child would be scolded and shamed by anyone who heard him ask something from a stranger. A gift must be reciprocated and we were often embarrassed by the return presents of our poor neighbours. We gave Ktut Adi, a little dancer of eight, a scarf of no great value; one day soon after she came to us with a basket of rice, some eggs, and a live chicken, carried by her mother because the load was too great for her. Children of the neighbourhood that Rose had treated for infected wounds always came back with presents of fruit, cakes, or rice which they handed casually to our house-boy, never mentioning them to us, as if they wanted to avoid making a demonstration of their generosity. Even children have a strong sense of pride.

The aristocracy is despotic and arrogant, but the ordinary people, although used to acknowledging the superiority of their masters, are simple and natural in an unservile and unsubmissive way. By the threat of passive disobedience and boycott they kept the princes from overstepping their bounds. Europeans complain that the Balinese make bad servants; they are too free, too frank, and do not respond to the insolent manner that the white man has adopted as " the only way to deal with natives."

Their moral code consists in maintaining their traditional behaviour, observing their duties towards their fellow villagers and paying due respect to the local feudal princes. Among themselves they are kind and just, avoiding unnecessary quarrels and solving their disputes by the simplest and most direct methods.

The villages are organized into compact boards or councils, independent of other villages. Every married man — that is, every grown man — is a member of the council and is morally and physically obliged to co-operate for the welfare of the community. A man is assisted by his neighbours in every task he cannot perform alone; they help him willingly and as a matter of duty, not expecting any reward other than the knowledge that, were they in his case, he would help in the same manner. In this way

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(*dalem*), which are themselves, those who live within the palace; 565
and the "outsiders": (*djaba*), the common people. From the point of view of the great majority of the Balinese, this is a fallacy, since it is the nobility who are the real outsiders. The feudalism of the Hindu aristocracy was curiously only superimposed on the Balinese patriarchal communism, and centuries of feudal rule have failed to do away with the closed independence of the village communities. Thus the nobility is left devoid of voice where it concerns the inner affairs of the community, despite the Pungawas and Perbekels they appoint to keep an eye on the villagers.

THE ORGANIZATION OF THE VILLAGE

One moonlight night the "tock tock" of a *kulkul* attracted us 621
towards the temple of the wind-swept, ancient town of Kinta- 623
mani, on the rim of the foggy crater of the Batur. On the road we joined an old man carrying a torch who informed us they were calling the village members to the monthly meeting in the *balé agung*, the "great house," the council hall of the community. It 344
was a long shed with a raised platform running along its entire length and with a thick thatch of sugar-palm fibre, faintly lit by a primitive oil lamp. There sat the village Elders, cross-legged, in two rows facing each other, talking quietly, each in his allotted place and carefully avoiding the empty seats of those who had not yet arrived. Slowly the platform filled up. When everybody was present, the old headman of the council called the roll while two assistants went around with flashlights to see that everybody was properly dressed: wearing the ceremonial breast-cloth, and a kris.

Thus the Elders of the old villages like Kintamani meet at each 623
full moon to partake of a ceremonial banquet in the company of 574
their gods. The assistants distributed the food from a large basket, placing a heap of parched rice with a ring of beans around it in front of each man, served by a specified ritual number of handfuls. After the distribution of food was over, the oldest member sat at the extreme end of the *balé agung* in an attitude of prayer and recited a rousing speech to invite the ancestral spirits, the

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623 574 pitara, to join in the banquet. With a clear voice he called: "*Kakí! Kakí!* Grandfather! Grandfather!" followed by the formula of invitation. Then he took his seat again at the head of the council, by the side of the little raised wooden throne dedicated to the village forefathers. Then everybody relaxed, breaking the tense silence; they discussed village affairs, the improvements of the temple, the coming feast, and gossiped for a while before wrapping the remaining rice in banana leaves to take home.

621 [182] [769] The ceremony was a clear example of the religious significance of the social organization of the village; the close relationship between the cult of the ancestors and the administration of the community. A Balinese village is a self-contained, independent community, a little republic ruled by a council of representative villagers (*krama desa*), in which everyone has equal rights and obligations. The independent village is called a desa, a term we shall employ to designate the legal, "complete" village that has the three reglementary temples: (1) the civil temple (*pura desa*), where the main celebrations are held and where the *balé agung* is located; (2) the temple of "origin" (*pura puséh*, the "navel"), the ancient shrine of the earlier days of the community, dedicated to the symbolical patriarch-founder of the village; and (3) the temple of the dead (*pura dalem*), out in the cemetery.

[346] [778]

Such a village is economically and politically independent of all others, except for a curious relation of blood. It often happens that various neighbouring villages are united by a strong bond into an association of related villages which worship a common original ancestor and with a common temple of "origin," located in the oldest village of the group, which they recognize as a "head" or "mother" village. From this it is supposed that the other villages sprung, and when they grew became independent. Such village associations co-operate with one another by sending offerings and representatives to the temple feasts of the other desas.

[769]

621 778 623 Just as the temple of origin is the shrine of the Great Ances-

[i.e., a monthly banquet of village council of elders. -Analyst]

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tor, so the *balé agung* is the home of the spirits when they visit their descendants, the symbolical throne of their authority. Like everything in Bali, the *balé agung* is divided into "right" and "left," with the chiefs and council members classified in the same manner. They sit on the long shed either at the right or at the left, on a spot set by their rank. New members act as attendants without a seat, but at the meetings squat on the ground outside the shed, until a seat at the end of the club-house is left to them by the death of a member. They advance progressively with age, the entire line moving up each time there is a vacant seat, until they reach the higher places towards the head of the *balé agung*. The headmen keep a record of each member's position in the building, in which the names of the members are written on the palm-leaf.

Every normal married man who owns a house or a plot of land in the village territory is compelled to join the village association, and his refusal would be punished by the denial of every assistance, confiscation of his property, and possibly even exile from the village. Theoretically all the land in Bali belongs ultimately to the gods, who lease it to the Balinese to work it and live from it; consequently landownership in an absolute sense cannot exist in the Balinese mind. Thus the *desa* authority, as representative of these gods, controls the land of the village, the homes, private and communally cultivated ricefields, grazing-lands, and the grounds left wild (*petjatu*) that provide bamboo, rotan, pandanus, wood, and so forth. From the lands adjoining the *desa* a worthy member may obtain an agricultural plot or the ground for his home. If someone has to move to another village and is justified in leaving, he asks to be released from the association and has the right to take with him the value of his share of the village property, but his land and his house return to the *desa*. His property is confiscated without compensation, Korn says, if he leaves the society without explanation.

The headmen of the association, the *kliang desa*, rules the village in the name of the council. He is usually elected by common

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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622 approval, but his office may be hereditary if the son of a popular chief is believed to possess his father's virtues. Should he be found to be undesirable, he is politely asked to resign and a new *kliang* is elected. A good village chief is a popular and influential man although he may be poor and simple. Once elected and after the choice has been sanctioned by the gods, he cannot decline to hold office, except under severe penalty. Even then his services are not rewarded, and the advantages he enjoys by his position are insignificant; he receives a slightly larger share of land, perhaps a double share of the food distributed from offerings, and he is free of certain duties. He does not receive any salary despite the burden of his obligations and responsibilities; he has to administer the society, preside over the meetings, manage and organize all of the *desa* festivals. He shares the executive [624] duties of the *desa* with the *penyarikan*, a lesser official (who is not, however, under his authority), a scribe and a number of messengers, none of whom are rewarded.

178 Under the rule of the princes the system was greatly undermined, especially where the villages grew too large to be effec-
● 623 tively managed by such a simple patriarchal organization. In the conquered territories the lands were gradually taken away from the *desa* and its authority was weakened until the function of the *desa* is now reduced to the upkeep of the village institutions, the celebration of village festivals, and religious ceremonies. The *desa* remains, however, the bulwark of the *adat* law, the net of traditional regulations owned by each village, in which all possible cases are carefully worked out in the most remarkable simple logic.

THE BANDJAR

621 As the *desa* Government lost control over the social and eco-
474 nomic organization and as the village grew, simultaneously with
575 the power of the local prince, it became divided into smaller communities within the *desa*, quarters or wards, the *bandjars:* cooperative societies of people bound to assist each other in

5: Belo E-5 (1931-1934)1935 OF7 Bali OF7

of the official Dutch government. This man has himself no place in the village council. But his father, who is now an old man to whom no one pays much attention, was once *kĕbayan*, holding the highest position in his half of the village [1]). According to the village-laws a *kĕbayan* is superannuated when his youngest child is married. He becomes *sayă*, a place of honor without power, and the position of *kĕbayan* is filled by the next highest member of his half of the village council. To the house of the Prĕbĕkĕl came that evening several of the elders from the council — there were things to discuss in the order of the ceremonies to come. In three days' time would begin the *odalan* in the temple, replacing the big *usabă* ceremony which was due on that day, at full moon. The *odalan* [2]) would last two days, and afterwards the gods must go away. They must be carried in procession to the sea or to a holy bathing place, where they would receive their "bath of purification" (*ngĕlungayang* or *mĕlis*). For in the case of the birth of boy and girl twins even the gods are dirtied. So far it had not been decided to which place the procession would go, nor on what day. The Prĕbĕkĕl would have to inform the Punggawă, head of the district, who would report to the Dutch Controleur what was being done in Sukawană. But that night nothing was decided. When the fire began to burn low the visiting elders went away, and the people of the house rolled themselves in their blankets to sleep.

On the morning following the big *mĕrĕyaschitä*, we were surprised to find offerings for *mĕcharu* again laid out in

[1]) The villagers are divided into two groups, *tĕngĕn* (right) and *kiwă* (left), into which they are born and remain throughout their life. Each group has its *kĕbayan*.

[2]) The *odalan* is not described because it was a ceremony belonging to the ordinary calendar of festivals in the Purä Balé Agung, and had nothing to do with the ceremonies occasioned by the birth of the twins. It is curious, however, to note that the *odalan* took place between the twin ceremonies, that is after the *mĕrĕyaschita* and before the *mĕlis*. In other villages where *mĕlis* was required for the birth of twins, it was arranged to take place before the *odalan*, and the people believed that only after *mĕlis* could an *odalan* be celebrated.

5: Belo E-5 (1931-1934)1935 OF7 Bali OF7

the court of the Balé Agung. The Sĕngguhu was present to officiate. The ceremony he called *manchă satah* this time, and the offerings included five chickens and a duck. He could not explain why a second *mĕcharu* or formal offerings to the bad spirits had to be made in the temple, so closely resembling the ceremony performed the previous evening. After the return of the people from the Meeting of Rivers anyone who wished was allowed to enter the upper court of the temple. Perhaps this second *mĕcharu* in the temple was to drive away any evil spirits which might have rushed in at the opening of the gates for forty-two days closed. But neither the priest nor the people gave any explanation of it — only, "that is the way it is done".

When it was over, the Sĕngguhu returned to his village. His part in the ceremonies was finished. The next day nothing happened. The people were visiting in the houses of the elders. Many cups of tea were drunk in the give and take of hospitality. At the end of the day, without any formal meeting of the council, it had been decided that the gods should go on third day after the *odalan*, not to the sea, but southward over the mountains to the temple of Pausan, some thirty miles away. They would be carried in procession, riding in their pagoda-houses, accompanied by more than four hundred men, women and children. It would take a day to walk there. Two days they would remain there, making offering and sprinkling the gods with the holy water of the place. Then they would return to their village, up over the mountains, to reinstate their purified gods in the temple. That is the end of the ceremonies required for the birth of twins who are a boy and a girl.

Part II.

Variations of the Ritual and Taboos in different Districts of Bali.

As with all other customs in Bali, marked variations are found from village to village. I have visited a dozen different villages where twins have been born in the past few

7: Belo E-5 (1931-1935) 1936 OF7 Bali OF7

child of the line of Gongang, Soewakă's own father, or of the line of Mentik, father of Metoe, who became Soewakă's social and religious father when Soewakă married Metoe as a sentană. It is impossible for a Balinese to state definitely to which line Sembrod belongs, as she calls both Mentik and Gongang pekak, grandfather, just as she calls all her uncles bapă, father. Even Rendah, who is her mother's cousin, she calls bapă. That is why the matter of inheritance is significant in tracing the emphasis of kinship, for it is only after the fact of succession to property that one can be sure where the emphasis lies. In this particular family, of Metoe-Soewakă-Méweh, complicated by the sentană marriage on one side and the ordinary marriage on the other, we shall have to await Soewakă's death to see what transpires. One can only note probabilities from the present distribution of the family in the three houses, the "town house," and the two koeboes in the fields (cf. fn. 5 and fig. 2, IV). Metoe's only daughter Loe'ed did not marry a sentană, as might have been expected, although her husband is a poor man. They do not live in the town house, but in a koeboe of their own on Soewakă's land. There is no chance of their inheriting the town house, since succession does not go through daughters. Probably they will inherit a tenantry right to a portion of the ricefields. Méweh's eldest son, Keroenă, married as a sentană into the family of Njadet, and therefore has no further claim on his own family, but will inherit from Njadet. He is already pengajă, member of the village council, for that household, because Njadet has become too deaf to fulfill his functions. Méweh's second son, Tèmplok, lives with his mother in her koeboe, and he is pengajă for that household. Poepoel, the third son, also lives there. Probably either Tèmplok or Poepoel will inherit that house, perhaps share it. In any case they have no chance for the town house, as they are intermediate sons. The daughter Sembrod is now a member of her husband's family and can expect nothing from her father's estate. This leaves Popol, Méweh's youngest son, who would seem to be the logical heir to the town house. As we should expect, we find him living there with his father and his co-mother Metoe, ready to take over the rights on the death of his father.

Let us go back now two generations to the family of Géwar, where we find another curious case of inheritance, not conjecture this time, but accomplished fact (fig. 2, I). It will be remembered that Géwar had five sons who served as parakans of the local prince. He lived in the house marked 2 on the map. His eldest son, Bedil, after his marriage, lived in house 3, and the second son, Boedal, in house 4 (which is now Rendah's). It was the third son, Klepoeg, who inherited the paternal house, No. 2.

9:Geertz E-5 (1957-1958)1959 OF7 Bali OF7

361 other in an almost urban fashion so as to conserve rice-land in the face of tremendously dense and growing population.[5] Within such clusters the basic territorial political unit is the hamlet, or *bandjar*. Bandjar, which may or may not be spatially isolated, depending upon the size of the settlement, contain anywhere from a dozen to several hundred nuclear families, averaging perhaps
621 about eighty or ninety. In most parts of Bali, the bandjar may be rather simply
344 defined as all those people subject to the decisions taken in one hamlet meeting
[623] house, or *balé bandjar*. Bandjar meetings of all male household heads are usually held in this balé once in a 35-day Balinese month, at which time all important policy decisions for the hamlet as a corporate unit are made, mainly by means of a "sense of the meeting" universal agreement process. As the temple is the focus of the religious community, so the meeting house—a wall-less, peaked-roof, Polynesian-looking structure usually located in the center of the hamlet—is the focus of the political community.[6]

621 To the bandjar are allocated the sort of general governmental and legal functions common to peasant communities in most parts of the world. It is responsible for local security, for the legitimation of marriage and divorce and the settlement of inheritance disputes, and for the maintenance of public works such as rural roads, the meeting house, and the local market sheds and cockpit. Commonly it will own a gamelan orchestra and perhaps dancing costumes and masks as well. As in many, but not all parts of Bali, house-land is corporately
[423] owned by the bandjar as a whole, the hamlet also may regulate the distribution
[681] of dwelling places, and so control immigration. For serious crimes it may even expel members, confiscating their house-land and denying them all local political rights—for the Balinese the severest of social sanctions.

621 The hamlet also has significant tax powers. It may fine people for infrac-
651 tions of local custom, can demand contributions for public entertainments, repairs to civic structures, or social welfare activities more or less at will, and can exercise the right to harvest all rice land owned by bandjar members—the members as a whole acting as the harvesters—for a customary share of the product. Consequently, most bandjar have sizeable treasuries and may even own rice land, purchased out of income, the proceeds of which are also directed to public purposes. Nowadays, a few bandjar even own trucks or buses, others help finance local schools, yet others erect cooperative coffee shops.

621 Finally, the bandjar also acts as a communal work group for certain ritual
476 purposes, especially for cremations, which, along with temple festivals, are still
[764] the most important ceremonies in Bali, although their size and frequency have
[796] been reduced somewhat in the years since the war. When an individual family
[178] decides to cremate, all members of the bandjar are obligated to make customary contributions in kind and to work preparing the offerings, food, and paraphernalia demanded for as long as a month in advance. Similar cooperation, but of lesser degree, is often enjoined for other rites of passage, such as tooth filing, marriage, and death. The bandjar is thus at once a legal, fiscal, and ceremonial unit, providing perhaps the most intensely valued framework for peasant solidarity.

623 The heads of the hamlet are called *klian*, literally "elder." In some bandjar

9:Geertz E-5 (1957-1958) 1959 OF7 Bali OF7

there is but one, most often two or three. Sometimes there are as many as four or five, usually reflecting either a large bandjar or one sharply segmented into strong kin or other subgroups, in which all important cross-cutting minorities must be given a role in bandjar leadership. Nowadays klian are usually elected for five years and then replaced by a new set, often chosen by the outgoing group with the approval of the bandjar meeting, so as to avoid electioneering. Klian are assisted by various lesser officials, whose jobs are usually rotated monthly among the members of the bandjar. Though the klian lead the discussion at the bandjar meeting, hold the public treasury, direct communal work, and commonly are men of some weight in the local community they are not possessed of much formal authority. In line with the general Balinese tendency to disperse power very thinly, to dislike and distrust people who project themselves above the group as a whole, and to be very jealous of the rights of the public as a corporate group, the klian are in a very literal sense more servants of the bandjar than its masters, and most of them are extraordinarily cautious about taking any action not previously approved in the hamlet meeting. Klian, who are unpaid and have no special perquisites, feel that their position mainly earns them the right to work harder for the public and be more abused by it; wearily, they compare their job to that of a man caring for male ducks: like the drake, the bandjar produces lots of squawks but no eggs.

3. *Ownership of rice land lying within a single watershed.* Unlike peasant societies in most parts of the world, there is in Bali almost no connection between the ownership and management of cultivable land on the one hand and local political (i.e., hamlet) organization on the other. The irrigation society, or *subak*, regulates all matters having to do with the cultivation of wet rice and it is a wholly separate organization from the bandjar. "We have two sorts of custom," say the Balinese, "dry customs for the hamlet, wet ones for the irrigation society."

Subak are organized according to the water system: all individuals owning land which is irrigated from a single water source—a single dam and canal running from dam to fields—belong to a single subak. Subak whose direct water sources are branches of a common larger dam and canal form larger and less tightly knit units, and finally the entire watershed of one river system forms an overall, but even looser, integrative unit. As Balinese land ownership is quite fragmented, a man's holding typically consisting of two or three quarter- or half-acre plots scattered about the countryside, often at some distance from his home, the members of one subak almost never hail from a single hamlet, but from ten or fifteen different ones; while from the point of view of the hamlet, members of a single bandjar will commonly own land in a large number of subak. Thus as the spatial distribution of temples sets the boundaries on Balinese religious organization, and the nucleated settlement pattern forms the physical framework for political organization, so the concrete outline of the Balinese irrigation system of simple stone and clay dams, mud-lined canals and tunnels, and bamboo water dividers provides the context within which Balinese agricultural activities are organized.

Though organizational details and terminology differ widely from region to

9:Geertz E-5 (1957-1958)1959 OF7 Bali OF7

621 634 which the name village can be properly applied, while the perbekelan as a whole forms only the vaguest of social units. The three villages concerned are Pau, Penasan, and Tihingan proper (the seat of the Perbekel which, consequently, lends its name to the entire perbekelan). We shall be concerned here only with Tihingan proper.

Tihingan proper consists of a single hamlet of some 138 kitchens grouped into 85 house-compounds, and there is but one set of Kahyangan-Tiga temples [794] to which all members of the hamlet belong, a rather untypically simple arrangement. There is a Brahmana priest living in the village, and there is a [564] scattering of low-title Satria and Vesia families, but almost 90 percent of the population is Sudra. From the structural point of view, however, the most 621 striking characteristic of Tihingan is 614 either its territorial pattern nor its status system, but the rather unusual importance of kinship as an organizational force in social life. It is the four dadia, accounting for nearly 80 percent of the village population, which form the axis around which Tihingan village life mainly revolves; and the implications of this simple fact can be traced through all the levels of its social organization. On the religious level, each major dadia [794] owns a very large, handsomely carved temple (in the case of the two largest dadia, even larger and more handsomely carved than the theoretically superordinate Kahyangan-Tiga temples) near the center of the village. The upkeep of this temple and the carrying out of the requisite semi-annual ceremonies within it in suitable style are among the major functions of the dadia, and rivalries in those matters can become quite intense.

At the political level, the distribution of hamlet leadership roles is con- [623] sciously and carefully designed to provide a realistic reflection of the balance of [634] dadia power. There are five klian or chiefs. Four of these are chosen, one from each of the major dadia; the fifth klian at the same time holds the office of Pengliman and is a member of the second largest dadia. Since the Perbekel himself, a man of some weight within Tihingan proper, is a member of the largest dadia, the kin group foundation for local leadership is clear and exact. Further, in supra-village political processes, institutionalized in the party system of the "New Indonesia," the two largest kin groups are allied as a faction [665] against the next two plus all the families not belonging to a dadia. All of the first group belong to the Socialist party and all of the second to the Nationalist, so that party allegiance is absolutely predictable from kin group membership, and reflects the internal organization of the village rather than personal ideological conviction.

On the economic level, each dadia forms a cooperative work group for the 621 manufacture of Balinese musical instruments—metallaphones, gongs, cymbals, 614 etc.—a smithing craft in which this village is partially specialized; the person- 476 nel working in any given forge almost inevitably are members of the same [326] dadia.[19] Further, most tenancy and exchange work patterns in rice field culti- [243] vation also follow kin group lines, introducing these alliances into the irrigation society context as well. More informal economic relationships—money lending, patronage, and so on—follow the same pattern.

[97 cont.]

771 174 621 the intensive effect of Hinduism. The whole organization of the village, as well as the work on the land, is closely bound up with this religion; there are special dèsa temples, religious festivals for purifying the dèsa, special temples for the soebak, etc.

621 There are two types of dèsa on Bali, especially in Buleleng, the old-fashioned and the modern dèsa. The former is distinguished by the great significance that the dèsa association (sekaha dèsa) still has; it consists primarily of the descendants of those who founded the dèsa, that is, the so-called core villagers. Certain advantages are enjoyed by [98] the members of these dèsa associations in the old-fashioned villages, usually in the form of agricultural land. The number of members is [564] limited, and there is absolute equality among them; even differences of caste do not play a part here. [Illustration appears here.] A council of elders guides the collective settlement of matters.

When a member dies, his son or some other blood relative is taken into membership [99] in his place. When there is no male relative to succeed him, a new member can be taken in. Such a new member has to serve a kind of apprenticeship, during which he is not looked upon as a full member of the association, and at meetings he has to serve the other members. The external characteristic of the old-fashioned dèsa is the possession [623] of a balé-agoeng, a long shed in the forecourt of the village temple, where the dèsa meetings are held. In these meetings each member has the same rights as the others and possesses [624] one vote. For the orderly conduct of business matters, however, there are some leaders, the eldest members of the association. In some dèsa this executive committee is composed exclusively of a certain number of these elders who are accorded various official titles. When one of these executive members dies, a successor is moved up to take his place.

793 554 The pasèk, whose function has a religious character, is on an equal footing with these executive members, and above them in some dèsa. He answers to the godhead, the déwa, when [776] the latter is reincarnated in the temple.

[Text continues on p. 113]

[99 cont.]

624 In more recent times a new functionary has been created in the old-fashioned villages, the penjarikan-dèsa, or village clerk, who is responsible to the pasèk and the council of elders.

●623 554 The village councilor receives little material reward as the fruit of his office; actually each has a right to a double portion in the distribution of the temple offerings. They are, however, always accorded other distinctions: sometimes a portion of the great bench in the meeting room is reserved for them and separated by a groove from that of the other members.

621 565 In these old-fashioned dèsa, the exclusive society represented by the descendants of the first founders of the village is clearly seen. They do not permit later arrivals to have claims on the land or to have a voice in the administration of the village. Today, however, especially in the mountain areas, the old-fashioned villages are somewhat more kindly disposed toward outsiders; after some years they are admitted as special members of the dèsa association.

The new villages have a quite different character, and this exclusive spirit does not prevail. The aim of the dèsa [100] [623] association here was to look after community interests, provide for safety, and to fulfill the duties to the gods and the sovereign. From this sprang the general rule that every male inhabitant becomes a member of the dèsa as soon as he marries; special advantages concerning the possession of land are not attached to this membership.

The administration of the new type of dèsa is completely different from that of the old-fashioned ones. The council of elders no longer exists; the leadership of the meeting and the [622 793] office of executive is delegated to one man, the klian, who is one of the members of the association chosen according to the instructions of the godhead through the mouth of the person he inspires in the temple. It sometimes happens that the villagers are not immediately satisfied with the choice and press for a consultation of the godhead.

793 A pasèk is no longer appointed in this kind of village. In his place is the pamangkoe, the keeper of the temple, who

[100 cont.]

793 at the same time is charged with offering the sacrifices in the temple. The klian, too, is a kind of spiritual leader; he is in charge of the care of the temple and is the leader in religious ceremonies.

624 Scattered villages are divided into bandjar, or parishes; in each there is a special local functionary, the klian bandjar or klian tinggi.

For administration and financial management there is a penjarikan-dèsa, the secretary-treasurer of the village; sometimes the klian has this office, but sometimes it is delegated to someone else, or, in the chief villages, to the pambekel gedé.

In most of these villages there is also a klian tempèk or klian troena, who calls upon the troena, or young members, to carry out the tasks they have to do.

Finally, in nearly every large dèsa there is also a sedahan temboekoe, "water bailiff," who is in charge of the principal aqueducts and who collects the taxes.

623 In some villages of this type there is a kind of village council composed of prominent soedra who act as counsellors and arbitrators to the klian and the penjarikan.

621 [101] Duties of the Inhabitants. With some exceptions, all adult, male inhabitants are obliged to carry out certain duties in the service of the village, such as keeping the roads in order, manning the watch posts, and taking part in offering sacrifices in the temple. Each in turn acts as messenger for the klian.

883 533 535 The youths (troena), in addition, are obliged to do special services, such as playing the gamelang in the temple [illustration appears here], performing dances, etc. The young girls, too, have similar duties, such as performing round dances. Later on they become members of the temple choir, accompanied by the gamelang.

461 564 Those exempt from dèsa service are, among others, the members of the highest caste, some also of the second and third caste, and the perbali (a class between the third caste and the soedra in rank, the propertied middle class) and young married people during the first year of marriage.

[101 cont.]

000 people during the first year of marriage.

621 [102] The villagers also have financial duties; they must
651 pay for the dèsa festivals and ceremonies through the patoeroenan a tax payable in money. To provide the dèsa treasury with money

[142 291]

Balinese Family Group
Photo. Kolonial Instituut, Amsterdam. Coll. Aug. de Wit.

[541 525] cock-fighting also is organized, and a portion of the betting money exacted.

● 623 [805] Village Meetings. These usually take place once a month (the Balinese month has 35 days), in the village temple at full moon and in the temple of the dead at new moon, or, in the old-fashioned dèsa, in the balé-agoeng erected in the forecourt of the [624] village temple. The evening before the meeting the messengers of the klian summon the villagers on the signal block.

[102 cont.]

623 All dèsa business is discussed in these village meetings, including financial matters, and thus the amount of the taxes to be levied is discussed and fixed.

634 Districts. A collection of villages forms a district, at the head of which stands a pambekelgedé or poenggawa. They are [625 702] involved in the management of the dèsa only insofar as matters of policing and army service (service outside the dèsa) are concerned. The grouping into districts, therefore, has no great significance for the ordinary Balinese. This cannot be said of the principalities, the larger political units that developed on Bali and now belong completely to the past.

64 174 Princes. According to Liefrinck (1), the Balinese principalities probably came into being in the following manner. In former times the various dèsa often had questions to discuss among themselves, especially concerning water for irrigation purposes. Originally, this perhaps led to armed combat, but gradually the parties came to appeal to arbitration by persons in whose judgment they had faith. These persons exercised a growing influence in the course of time. Their descendants knew how to strengthen this and to draw the whole of the administration of justice into their hands. As soon as they succeeded in making themselves masters of the rights to irrigation water and were able to claim payment for the use of it, [103] they became full-fledged Eastern despots. During the period when the Balinese princes had unlimited power, it was in very small measure a blessing for the ordinary people; on the contrary, in most cases it was a heavy burden. The inhabitants had to guard the poeri, the royal residence; the prince placed a tariff

1. F.A. Liefrinck, "Bijdrage tot de kennis van het eiland Bali (Contributions to Knowledge of the Island of Bali)" Tijdschrift voor Taal-, Land-, en Volkenkunde van Nederlands Indië, Vol. 33, p. 347 f.

[312 721] [643] [641] [651]

64 [103 cont.]
174 on agricultural products, especially rice and coconuts, and the
651 best of these products had to be presented to him.

Soebak. Bali, a land where sawah cultivation is of the
634 greatest importance and where the inhabitants are therefore
312 greatly concerned about having a regular supply of irrigation
476 water, is also a land where a peculiar native jurisdictional community has developed, the Balinese polder, soebak. It is true that this is very closely connected with agriculture and thus could be dealt with in the chapter on "Means of Subsistence," but because of its special importance for Balinese society and because it is a special form of jurisdictional community, we will discuss it in this chapter as a more suitable place.

The soebak is formed when new land is opened up, with the aim of procuring for the owners of small holdings the advantages that large sawah holdings have (with regard to irrigation water). This form of co-operation in no way diminishes the rights of ownership of the small holders. The soebak, then, is an association of all the cultivators whose sawahs can be irrigated from one aqueduct, with the aim of building and caring for the upkeep of the aqueduct and also of regulating, through mutual consultations, the other agricultural operations. One soebak may embrace several dèsa, and in large dèsa there may be more than one soebak.

At the head of a soebak is the klian soebak, chosen by all the members who make up the sekaha soebak. He keeps a list of the members and is charged with governing sawah operations in consultation with the members. Once it has been decided
[685 when the rice is to be planted, he must see to it that this actu-
627] ally is done. He must also be on guard against water thieves. He tries to settle amicably the questions that arise among the members of the soebak.

●[623] When matters warrant it, the klian calls a meeting. Usually the meetings take place on a definite day of the month (35 days), sometimes at each [104] full moon. At first these meetings are held in the open, later in the newly built soebak temple.

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3. *Other forms.*—Among the Minahasa, the tie which binds the father to his child is confirmed by him through an adat present, called "lilikur," to the mother of the child. In like manner, the bond between a foster parent and an adopted child is sometimes established by a present.

Numerous other customs are based on the idea that the transfer of some tangible goods effects a desired connection between two persons at the time of the transfer. The small present (usually in the form of food), which accompanies a petition to a person in power or authority, and which in Western eyes is too frequently looked upon as a bribe, is to be understood in this wise. The lawsuit deposit or present, which the plaintiff adds to his claim, is another instance. These presents pave the way for the establishment of the desired temporary arrangement, and lay the course down which the decision can come.

The sharecropper's payment of "srama" (see p. 120), can be linked to this institution. The acceptance of the "srama" obligates the receiver to give an answer or render a decision to the petitioner's desire to use his land, even though it be a negative one. The "srama" is not always the same as the "panjer," but it is certainly closely related to it; magically at least, it seems to be the same.

In the case of the "panjer," the visible token follows the agreement and makes it mutually binding. In the case of the present, which accompanies a petition, acceptance obligates an answer, and sometimes, if it be an invitation, it obligates consent. This may possibly be true of a "srama," too. And the giving of presents also has some compulsion in it.

A concrete token can also be used to bind yourself to decisions formulated in your absence. In Bali, a person who is detained from going to the desa meeting, can give his kris to some member of the nuclear village to take along as a proxy. So the Balinese widow employs the kris of her dead husband to represent him when adopting a child for him after his death. In Java, a prince may marry a concubine *in absentia* by having himself represented by an official to whom he gives his personal kris to be taken along for the occasion. The great lords of Mandar, in South Celebes, magically bind a girl to themselves by sending her a kris. If the girl wishes to be free again, she has to be "bought loose."

4. *Prohibitory symbols.*—The visible symbol which establishes the relation of a person to land or to a tree is of similar nature. Positively, it establishes a legal tie between the object and its maker,